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參加華府國建聯誼會  
學術研討會  
「邁進新世紀、提昇國家競爭力」

會議報告

出國人：教育部國際文教處處長 李振清

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# 「邁進新世紀、提昇國家競爭力」 2000 華府國建聯誼會學術研討會紀實

李振清

## 深秋返華府有感

當深秋的彩繪(Fall foliage)將美東處處渲染得像潑墨山水般的多彩多姿、詩情畫意時，我又回到了曾在此工作了五年半的華府。此行是應華府國建聯誼會的邀請，於十月二十一日趕來參加公元 2000 年的學術研討會，並就年會「邁進新世紀、提昇國家競爭力」的主題，闡釋我國現階段及遠程目標的教育改革，和教育國際化進程與願景的內涵。回想一九九〇年五月四日，本人為教育部自國立臺灣師範大學借調至舊金山文化組務，兩年後，又轉調至華府工作。在華府那一段不算短暫的日子裡，因緣際會地趕上第一屆再華府喬治城大學舉辦的「亞太經合會教育部長會議」(The First APEC Educational Ministerial Meeting, 1992)及一連串的國際性會議與活動。這些挑戰性極高的任務，也因此讓我結識了更多的中外友人；同時也為往後的工作奠定了厚實的基礎。

舊地重遊，故友新知雲集，興奮之情，不可言喻。雖然來去匆匆，但參與會議及訪晤華府舊友所留下的溫馨回憶，至今仍然歷歷程現腦際。

在海外的華人菁英，據估計大約有十萬人左右。這些來自台灣，到國外深造，然後落地生根，並活躍在全球政、經、文教與學術研究界的傑出華人，不但是台灣的榮耀，同時也是各國珍惜的人才瑰寶。就以美國為例，從西岸的田長霖（前柏克萊加州大學校長）、楊祖佑（現任聖塔巴巴拉加州大學校長）、美南的朱經武（德州休士頓大學教授、超導體中心負責人）、美中的刁景寰（芝加哥大學名教授），到美東的余英時（普林斯頓大學教授）、孫康宜（耶魯大學教授）、哈佛大學的孔祥重教授、麻省陳守信教授、約翰霍普金斯大學的李遠川教授、黃秉乾教授、馬利蘭大學的丘宏達教授、教堂山北卡大學的李國雄教授等等，都是國人耳熟能詳的國際知名學人。至於服務於聯邦政府、研究機構（如國家衛生研究院 National Institute of Health - NIH、國家航太中心等）的專家，則不計其數。這些活躍於美東的華

人菁英，通常也是海外華人學術研討會的主軸。華府國建聯誼會的年會就是一個最顯著的例子。

## 華府菁英盡熱心學術活動

本屆的華府國建聯誼會學術研討會的負責人為服務於美國農業部的徐惠迪博士。在這之前的總召集人（也就是會長）都是海外一時之選。自 1975 年由服務於美國國家衛生研究院的彭汪嘉康院士成立華府國建聯誼學會後，歷任的總召集人為李華斌、許翼雲、陶龍生、王定南、錢致福、彭森明、谷家嵩、吳澄敏、巫和怡、曾振、陳大椿、陳宏榮、李齊相、黃和鐘、呂崇基、吳達純、曹增琮、林文榮、史興華、李五郎、莊德茂、曹哲生。

看了這些名單，大家可以瞭解大華府地區人文薈萃的盛況。這些學者專家、專業人士、企業界的人士，有的在大學教書，有的在國家衛生研究院做研究。海軍醫院、國防部、太空中心、航太中心等，都有很多華人在那兒孜孜不倦的為全人類的福祉在努力。這也讓人連想到玉山科技的成員在美東特別的多，而玉山科技也就是以美東和美西加州地區的企業和學界的人士做為骨幹，發展成為對美國和中華民國有巨大貢獻的一個學人團體。至於公元二千年的大華府地區華人學術研討會，事實上是由當地的學人和玉山科技主要的成員來組成的，有這麼多的傑出的華人菁英，還有在美國的首都華盛頓舉辦這樣的年會，當然意義非凡。

## 學術研討會的內涵

這次的會議雖然僅僅只有一整天的時間，可是從總召集人許惠迪率同華府國建聯誼會的重要幹部和成員花了將近一年的時間才完成了這次會議的籌備。會議本身所邀請的重要的講者包括我國駐美代表程建人大使、行政院大陸委員會鄧副主任委員振中，還有在高科技發展方面頗知名的李繼偉、蘇惠陽、林松齡等。最後為了延續海外華裔子弟跟國內社會文化的連續性，同時幫助這批年輕人融入美國主流社會，所以主辦單位還特地請了一些在當地對年輕人有影響力的講者來跟年輕朋友們做一些溝通跟他們應該努力的方向。三位講者是陳士魁、洪耀東以及在華府地區經常主持重要節目的女主持人楊心怡。本人則應邀在午餐會的時段裡，對全體與會的華府國建聯誼會成員，講述中華民國當前教育改革的進展以及教育國際化的前瞻。

全人類在二十一世紀共同的願景，可以說是海外學人最為難得的共識。在海外的學人和國內極為不同。在工作態度方面，由於文化背

景的關係，他們必須滿懷著創新求行的精神，在工作的崗位上努力奮鬥，而所有其他的活動，例如像學術研討會或者是跟文化社團有關的座談會等等，則必須利用週末的時間來規劃跟舉辦，這也是為什麼華府國建聯誼會舉辦會議的時間一定選在禮拜六或是禮拜天的原因。為了把會議辦得有聲有色，不僅是所有的與會成員都動員參加，連他們眷屬也都一起來參與，同時當義工來協助其他的一些會議事務性的工作。在美國的海外華人菁英這種犧牲奉獻的精神，還有積極參與學術文化會議的積極態度，很可以做為我們的參考和借鏡。筆者除了美國以外，過去還到過很多其他的國家如德國、法國、英國、比利時、日本等等地區參與學術活動。事實上，在這些地區的海外華人所辦的活動也大都是如此。人在異鄉對故鄉事和對國家的關懷，他們的心思可以說是更為迫切。同時海外華人的菁英他們主要的就是融入當地主流社會，不但把自己所學的專業專長能夠貢獻給當地的國家。同時也對我們中華民國有莫大的貢獻。這種情況在歷屆的紐約、芝加哥、休士頓、美西地區以及大華府地區的海外學人會議中都很明顯看得到，而這一次在華府地區舉辦的會議讓人留下更深刻的印象。

## 程建人代表對中美關係的精闢分析

現任駐美代表程建人是一位資深的職業外交官，他當過立法委員，以前是我們的外交部長。早期錢復先生擔任駐美代表時，他已是在華府工作相當時日，以他豐富的資歷和經驗，如今又擔任駐美代表，可以說是游刃有餘。程代表人緣好，待人也極其謙和，他與界僑社及美國各界的關係都非常好，所以當陳總統水扁先生派他至華府擔任駐美代表之後，他立刻進入情況，同時跟美國行政及立法部門，也逐漸建立起良好的關係。他是繼錢復代表、丁懋時代表跟胡志強代表後，一位不可多得的人才。

程建人代表的專題演講是「中美外交關係的展望」，程代表從中美兩國的歷史淵源生活的文化關係，深厚的文化關係，以及自一九五〇跟八〇年代以後的政治、經貿、學術、教育、文化的關係的層面，來仔細分析為什麼美國和中華民國的關係，不管在任何時空之下，只要大家能夠冷靜的處理，兩者的關係必然會與日俱增。雖然過去中美兩國之間有不少的誤會，可是基於上述的各種關係，所以如今兩國的關係一直保持非常平穩。其實布希政府還沒有上任時，程代表已經預言，在可預見的未來，中美兩國的關係只會更加的融洽，雖然，中美兩國現在沒有正式的外交關係，而且中共一直透過正常的外交管道時時在打壓台灣和美國的關係，這些表面上的因素和作為，並不會影響到台灣和美國建立在文化、歷史、教育跟經貿基礎上的深厚關係。如

今當我們回想程代表說過的話，再看看當前台灣和美國的種種關係，的確可以印證程代表的預言。

## 海基會副主委鄧振中探討「台灣海峽兩岸的互動」

另外一個重要的演講是海基會副主委鄧振中先生的「台灣海峽兩岸的互動」。鄧副主委從兩岸問題可以受到國際重視的觀點上來分析我們台灣目前國家安全、經濟發展、對外關係，從而預言到上面這些因素對於國內政治具有決定性的影響，而當我們面對新的世紀的時候，如何在既有的基礎上，開創兩岸關係的新局面，不僅關係到國家的永續發展，同時也是東亞地區和平安全之所繫。鄧副主委認為新政府在就任一年以來，他施政主要的努力就是在穩定兩岸的關係，同時政府也希望在穩定中，逐步推動兩岸交流的對話，建立完整的交流，互動資訊，以便增進兩岸互信和了解，從而為兩岸未來關係的正常化鋪路。

鄧副主委也以詳細的數據交流的現況，譬如大陸地區人民來台從事文教活動者逐年的增加，到公元二千年時已經超過了五萬七千人次，其中民國八十七以及八十八年度都在上萬的人次，在經濟方面，從民國七十六年到八十八年兩岸間接貿易成長約十七倍，八十八年兩岸貿易總額是二百五十九億美元，大陸地區已經成為我國第三大出口對象。依大陸方面的統計，台商在大陸協議投資金額累積了四百五十七點六億美元。在社會交流方面八十八年台灣地區赴大陸地區有一百八十五萬人次。

至於兩岸互動的障礙隨時存在，其中，鄧副主委分析，主要來自所謂的「一個中國」的問題，鄧副主委的分析，中共長久以來一直以狹隘的心態片面解釋「一個中國」的原則，這個也是我們所不能接受的事實，中共對一個中國的定義，從「世界上只有一個中國，台灣是中國的一個部份，中華人民共和國是代表中國的唯一合法政府。」反觀陳水扁總統在五二〇就職演說就曾經提出：「海峽兩岸人民源自於相同的血緣、文化和歷史背景。」我們相信雙方的領導人一定要有足夠的智慧和創意，秉持民族對等的原則，在既有的基礎上，以善意營造合作的條件共同處理未來「一個中國」問題。所以鄧副主委振中先生對於未來能力的方向，認為大家應該以開放的思考渡過兩岸的僵局。過去兩岸的關係受限於雙方主政者的意識形態與既定的思考模式，以至於在互動的過程中，經常被預設的前題及框架所困，因此突破僵局的唯一途徑，就是要以開放的思考與態度來處理兩岸的問題。鄧副主委同時也對與會學人談到大三通、小三通的問題，以及台灣加入 WTO 以後，兩岸關係必然所產生的新的格局。這種新的發展當然

也會建立在兩岸同步走向國際的舞台，推動全面的教育國際化，提升兩岸的民族發展，也唯有這樣，兩岸的關係才能在拉進距離之後逐步改善。

## 國際化導向的中華民國教育改革願景與挑戰

在本人向大會報告中的國際化導向的中華民國教育改革以及我們目前所面臨的願景及挑戰裡頭。筆者從知識經濟時代的教育改革來分析，為什麼台灣現在的多元社會跟政治發展的變遷之中，教育改革以及國際化教育的提升是引導我們台灣面向西方民族化跟自由化趨勢的最重要基礎和因素；而知識經濟跟教育改革也是二十一世紀裡，全球每一個國家所追求的目標。

在這個大前提之下，如何以教育作為基礎，來開拓知識經濟的發展，同時落實教育改革前瞻，是我們政府目前正在積極推動的重要課題。筆者認為台灣教育所面對的全球新挑戰包括三點，一、因應全球經貿、電子商務跟高科技發展的影響，二、中華文化的維繫和永續發展，三、全方位教育和全球國際化同步。為了落實這項教育改革的重要課題，政府也提出了十二項教育改革方案，包括健全國民教育、普及幼稚教育、健全師資培育與教師進修制度、促進技職教育多元化與精緻化、追求高等教育卓越、推動終身教育及資訊網路教育、推展家庭教育、加強身心障礙學生教育、強化原住民學生教育、暢通升學管道、建立學生輔導新體制以及充實教育經費及教育研究。筆者也順便介紹剛實施的九年一貫課程的總綱要以及理論架構，其中七大領域也就是語文、健康與教育、社會、藝術與人文、數學、自然與科技、綜合活動。這七大領域也是西方教育改革裡面所推動的一個全人教育的主軸，當然國內可能因為長期實施分科教育的結果。對於九年一貫教育並不習慣，然而當我們面對一個強調通識教育和科技整合以及人際關係的時候，本人認為這種新的改革策略是必然的趨勢，至於高等教育方面我們也面臨迫切的改革跟挑戰，其中多元升學管道以及校園民主、校務基金、大學追求卓越，以及推動並提升國際合作，已經是全中華民國各大學跟世界各大學同步的一個重要的策略。

這些有關教育改革的課題，也都是海外的學人、專業人士，以及玉山科技的朋友們所樂意聽到的，因此在演講之後所討論的問題非常熱烈，大家的互動也令人感到振奮，這種現象也是在海外舉辦國際聯誼會之中令人感到最振奮的地方。

## 台灣高科技發展的前瞻

由高科技研發和企業界人士李繼偉、蘇惠陽、林松齡所共同座談的「台灣高科技發展的前瞻」裡頭，所有與會的朋友們帶來了一個新的當前科技發展的願景。其中有關於資訊科技的發展、應用與生活、商業、教育等方面的討論，引發了聽眾們深厚的興趣。資訊科技對全球人類的影響非常深遠，當人們邁向二十一世紀的時候，沒有任何一個人可以脫離資訊科技的影響，也因為這種關係，西方各先進國家普遍的立法規範，同時來促成資訊科技廣泛來利用於這個層面，包括研究發展高科技等等，其中很多西方的國家，像美國、英國、德國等等，普遍的把資訊科技中的 Internet 用於檢索資料、研究、發展、購物、看新聞、娛樂等等，這種正常的發展也正是我們國內應該推動的，有些國家偶爾會把這些資訊科技應用於一些不當的活動，譬如說，少部份的網咖讓賭博、色情介入，這可以說是濫用(Abuse)現代科技的一種不當的行為。

## 後記與結語

會議結束之後，我拜訪了當地的一些好朋友，比如中國時報駐美特派員傅建中、名律師張先正、科技及研究界名人陳壯飛、斯華齡、作家周邦貞小姐以及無數的華府地區的好朋友們，同時本人也利用這個短暫的時間，看看美國教育部(US Department of Education)的一群老朋友們如 Alan Ginsburg, Stewart Tinsman, Marshall Mike Smith (現已回任史丹福大學)，Sam McKee, Lanor Garcia 等。大家久別重逢，暢快無比，最後，當然我還是要回去看看駐美代表處的長官和駐美代表處文化組的老同事們。在華府停留的時間非常的短暫，會議結束之後，馬上又匆匆的趕回台北，然而這一次令人難忘的華府國建聯誼會學術研討會，以及大華府地區眾多的老朋友們所留給我的印象是永遠不可抹滅的，回到了台北，我還是一直不斷的惦念著那一場難忘的盛會，以及全體參與的好朋友們。

在百忙中抽空出國全程參加學術會議，、宣讀論文，並與海外學人共同分享國內經驗，樂趣無窮。個人也因此深感不虛此行也。

# 國際化導向的中華民國教育改革願景與挑戰

李振清

教育部國際文教處處長、國立台灣師範大學翻譯研究所兼任教授  
(886-2) 2356-5608; FAX 2397-6978, E-mail: <ccli@mail.moe.gov.tw>; <http://www.edu.tw/bicer>

## 1. 知識經濟時代的教育改革

- 1.1 台灣教育在現代社會與政治發展中的變遷
- 1.2 東西方現代教育的發展趨勢與台灣教育改革
- 1.3 二十一世紀知識經濟發展與教育改革前瞻

## 2. 台灣教育所面對的全球新挑戰

- 2.1 因應全球經貿、電子商務與高科技發展之影響
- 2.2 中華文化的維繫與永續發展
- 2.3 全方位教育與全球國際化同步

## 3. 十二項教育改革方案（行政教育改革推動小組）

- 健全國民教育
- 普及幼稚教育
- 健全師資培育與教師進修制度
- 促進技職教育多元化與精緻化
- 追求高等教育卓越發展
- 推動終身教育及資訊網路教育
- 推展家庭教育
- 加強身心障礙學生教育
- 強化原住民學生教育
- 暢通升學管道
- 建立學生輔導新體制
- 充實教育經費與加強教育研究

## 4. 九年一貫課程總綱槓要

- 4.1 理論架構
- 4.2 語文、健康與教育、社會、藝術與人文、數學、自然與科技、綜合活動

## 5. 高等教育改革的進展與前瞻

- 5.1 多元升學管道
- 5.2 多大學自主及「校園民主」
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- 5.4 教育國際化與參與國際組織之研究和發展計畫

## 6. 結語（敬請指教）



# **Education Reform in an International Setting: Prospects and Challenges**

**Chen-ching Li, Ph.D.**  
**Director General**

Bureau of International Educational and Cultural Relations, Ministry of Education  
(886-2) 2356-5608; FAX 2397-6978, E-mail: <ccli@mail.moe.gov.tw>; <http://www.edu.tw/bicer>

## **1. Education Reform in an Era of Knowledge-based Economy**

- 1.1 Evolution of education and social-political developments in Taiwan
- 1.2 New trends in education, east and west
- 1.3 General education and knowledge-based economy: a drive for reform

## **2. Educational Reform as a Timely Rejuvenated National Goal**

- 2.1 Responding to the worldwide economic impact and e-commerce
- 2.2 Sustaining Chinese Culture
- 2.3 Compatible with the International Trend

## **3. Proposal for Educational Reform**

- Revamping national education projects, K-12
- Renovating teacher education and in-service training programs
- Promoting impeccable and diversified vocational education
- Pursuing excellence in higher education and its development
- Advocating lifelong learning projects
- Strengthening educational programs designed for the handicapped
- Invigorating educational programs for the native Taiwanese
- Expanding access to colleges and universities
- Creating a new system integrating teaching, guidance, and counseling
- Increasing the budget for the enhancement of educational research
- Accelerating the promotion of family value/ethics through parental education

## **4. Reform of Compulsory Education: Nine-Year Integrated Cluster Courses**

- 4.1 Rationale for the reform initiatives
- 4.2 The six areas of learning

## **5. Reform of Higher Education**

- 5.1 Multiple access for admission into colleges and universities
- 5.2 University Autonomy
- 5.3 Fund-raising drive for promoting institutional programs
- 5.4 Education internationalization
- 5.5 Association with international organizations

## **6. Conclusion**

# **Enhancing International Education Relations: Taiwan's Higher Education Model**

**Chen-ching Li, Ph.D.**

Director General

Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relations

Ministry of Education

## **1. Education Reform and International Educational Relations in Taiwan**

The rapid and dynamic development of higher education in Taiwan has created a significant impact on the social and economic advancement of this small country. This unique phenomenon has enabled Taiwan to become a visible and recognized state that more and more countries are eyeing for establishing substantial relations of common interest. Holland, Sweden, the United States and many other countries are interested in bolstering international education relations with Taiwan so as to mutually build up better partnership not only in academics and education, but also in economics and global trading. Success in international education will lead to revitalization of all sectors of any given society. The model of Taiwan's higher education development, coupled with its traditional concept has made Taiwan as what it is today. As the year 2001 rapidly approached, the Republic of China on Taiwan was preparing for its advent with sweeping higher education reform to meet the new challenges of the new century in every sector.

The United States and Taiwan share a lot of phenomena in common. While the United States is launching its sweeping education reform initiated by former Secretary of Education, Dr. Richard W. Riley, Taiwan has also adopted her sweeping education reform, which is parallel to that of the United States and many other countries. For the agenda of education reform in higher education in Taiwan, the three "superhighways" for high school students to pursue advanced studies in the postsecondary institutions; for graduates to be admitted into technical colleges; and recurrent and lifelong learning" has been created. Also, education internationalization is another crucial approach to enable Taiwan to cooperate with other countries. The eventual goal of this endeavor is to materialize the social modernization and national reinvention.

## **2. Responding to the Worldwide Economic Impact**

The late twentieth century is characterized by its constant changes and the formation of a new order. Global economical development results in both competition and interdependence among countries. The new order will be based on this dynamic relationship. Each economy will face this global economical impact and the pressure from international competition.

Facing the twenty-first century, we shall encounter issues such as enhancing competitive ability, cultivating human and cultural potential, reacting to global impact, and responding to high demands for self-fulfillment. While people are enjoying material wealth in their lives, they are also facing various social problems induced by economic growth, such as the emptiness of spiritual lives, increase of social fame and money, and

lack of humane concern. Economically, we find the domestic and international structure has changed; professional knowledge needs to be constantly upgraded, and international competitive ability has to be improved. The global village also results in people's lives being internationalized. We have to face these impacts and consider the reactions.

How to deal with these challenges? Education is certainly considered as a crucial factor. Education, an important means for directing people toward peace, freedom, and justice, is indispensable in the progress of individual and social development. It may not be able to solve all the challenges, but is surely a reliable method to facilitate human progress. It can enhance the economy's competitiveness and strengthen humanistic concern so that the international challenge can be coped with and individual development improved.

### **3. Reform of Higher Education**

Education is essential to social and economic development. It is a key to human capacity building (HCB). The concept of HCB is going to be one of the crucial mandates of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is a key component to education reform as well.

The Ministry of Education has been actively campaigning for unprecedented educational reform, first under the leadership of former Minister of Education, Dr. Wei-fan Kuo, and then followed by Minister Jin Wu. Since February 1998, Minister Ching-Jiang Lin has further actively bolstered the educational reform and higher education decentralization initiatives. Ministers Kuo, Wu and Lin have envisioned the indispensable reform and imminent revitalization of education in general, and higher education in particular. All have exerted overwhelming efforts to launching the historical educational reform campaign, which has also spurred some predictable upheavals from the intelligentsia in .

The reform of higher education has successfully transformed from an undeveloped agricultural society to an admirable developed nation through robust economic development and steady advancements in science and technology. All these miraculous accomplishments have to be attributed not only to the aforementioned factors, but also to the ongoing campaign for reform and internationalization of higher education, which has become a national mandate since the 1980's. As Taiwan is geared up for a historical reform, aiming at tackling the challenges of the twenty-first century, there are still issues that have yet to be resolved.

### **4. The Cultural Background of Higher Education in Taiwan**

It is the primary goal of high school graduates to pass the very competitive nationwide entrance examination to be admitted into desirable colleges and universities in , and hopefully, go beyond to pursue advanced studies internationally. This tradition has prompted both the government and the private citizens to honor higher education as a major life path for both future career development and personal advancement. Under this pretext, the policy making for higher education development has to be steadfast, and visibly efficient to meet the public demand. In other words, more and more colleges and universities have been built to accommodate the graduating high school students.

In 1950, there was only one comprehensive university (e.g., National Taiwan

University), three four-year colleges, and three junior colleges throughout Taiwan. Along with the steady economic growth and dynamic international trades in the 1980s, more students were anxious to enter the colleges for advanced education. Thus, the number of universities increased drastically from one in 1950 to 16 in 1980. Interestingly, the total number of junior colleges grew drastically from 3 to 77 in the span of thirty years. By 1998, there are in total 42 comprehensive universities, 53 colleges, and 55 junior colleges. The statistics also manifests the culture that enthusiastically supports education in general, and higher education in particular.

The rapid growth of junior colleges in the 1970s indicates the strong motivation of high school graduates to enter colleges and universities. And for those who could not pass the keenly competitive joint entrance examination, they turned to junior colleges as an alternative. This accounts for the reason why the number of junior colleges increased twenty-five fold between 1950 and 1980.

Another reason for the rapid growth of junior colleges in Taiwan is partially due to the profitability of such educational establishments. The complementary factors have also justified the fact that in 1950, there were only 1,286 students attending junior colleges, in contrast with 5,379 pursuing degree studies in colleges and universities. By 1980, enrollment in junior colleges skyrocketed to 183,184, in contrast with 159,394 in college graduate and undergraduate programs. During the 1997-98 academic year, the total enrollment in junior colleges is 433,865, while that in degree programs in colleges and universities is 422,321, including 38,606 in Master's Degree programs, and 10,013 in Ph.D. degree studies. Fig. 4 below indicates the rapid growth of enrollment in junior colleges and universities.

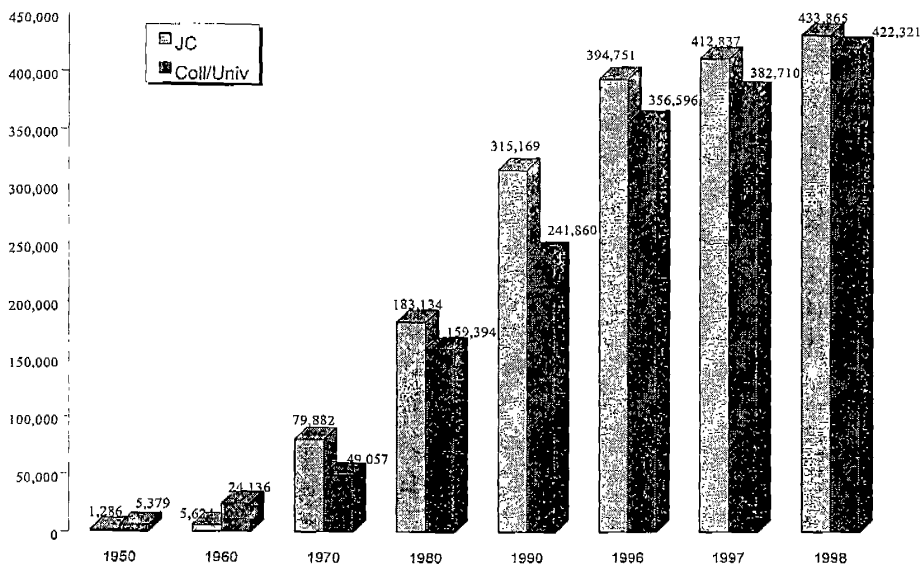
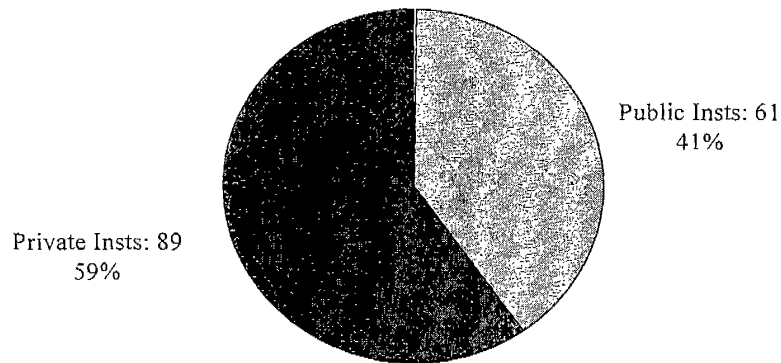


Fig. 1: Increase of Enrollment in Colleges, 1950-98

With a total of 856,186 students in institutions of higher learning, it means that 3.9% out of the population of 21.897 million is in college. In comparison with the school enrollment in higher education of the United States (e.g., 5.4%), Taiwan still falls far behind. For a small traditional society managing to survive and develop in the face of adversity, the policy makers of education in Taiwan consider such an accomplishment acceptable, although more efforts have been exerted for improvement.

Among the institutions of higher learning, it is interesting to note that there are more private than public ones. Figure 5 indicates that in 1998, out of 150 colleges and universities, 61 of them are public institutions funded by the government, and 89 of them are private. Being unlike institutions of higher learning in the United States, all public colleges and universities are financially supported by government revenue. As for private institutions, they are entitled to government support of up to 15 to 20 percent, depending on the efficiency of education and overall accreditation each year.



*Fig. 2: Number of Public and Private Colleges/Universities*

Public schools are entitled to full support due to the protection under the constitution. Article 164 of the Constitution states, "Expenditures of educational programs, scientific researches and cultural services shall not be, in respect of the Central Government, less than 15 percent of the total national budget; in respect of each province, less than 25 percent of the total provincial budgets, and 35 percent in the level of municipality or county." This admirable law was essential to the rapid development of higher education in Taiwan in the 1980s as the national economy grew strong and solid, and national revitalization became a reality. This is one of the major factors for up to 26 public institutions of higher learning to have been established in the 1980s. And by 1998, 35 more have been added to accommodate the need of students. All these have been

made possible through this constitutional support, together with the direct impact of domestic and international education, both of which are linked with the overall development and revitalization of the nation.

As public universities thrive through improvement of cutting edge infrastructure and well-trained faculty, all the private institutions have responded with a call for equal rights and subsidy. In the meantime, democratization initiated in the 1980s has begun to call for accountability and improvement in teaching, research, and educational administration. Under the education reform policy initiated both by the governmental and private sectors in the 1990s, the Ministry of Education decided to put into practice this unprecedented mission by adopting the theme for the Seventh National Conference, "Reforming to Head for a Sound Educational Vision." Initiated by former Minister of Education Dr. Wei-fan Kuo, the historically significant conference was attended by leading educators home and abroad in June 1994. A result of that conference is the subsequent invigorating education reform movement in all sectors in Taiwan. All efforts have been highlighted in the campaign in 1997 and 1998 to be continued in the next century.

### **5. Reinforcing Education internationalization: a New Policy of Educational Reform**

The world is changing rapidly. It is my conviction that we international educators should appreciate the ancient Chinese saying of "Reading tens of thousands of volumes should be coupled with traveling for tens of thousands of miles away from home." International education is the extension of this concept both in academic and cultural learning. This is why Dr. Derek Bok, former president of Harvard University, reiterated his claim that all students should go overseas to become better motivated for future learning.

In his recent speech, President Neil Rudenstine (also of Harvard) urged Commitment to international Exchange Programs to beef up the mission similar to that of Dr. Derek Bok. President Neil Rudenstine's comments in ACE's Robert H. Atwell Distinguished Lecture Series makes sense to me, and is pertinent to our conclusion:

In spite of all the criticism surrounding the point today, we really have to sustain our commitment to international students and faculty exchange programs. We need those foreign students, and we need our students to be out there. There is simply no substitute for direct contact with talented people from other countries and cultures. We benefit from overseas students, they add to our base of knowledge, (and) they drive research and teaching in new directions that are very fruitful."

International education has much to learn from history. Indeed, there are two role models of international students who are frequently discussed. One of them is Dr. Gerhard Casper, President of Stanford University. The other is Dr. Lee Teng-hui, President of . In the op-ed section of the New York Times, April 24, 1997, Dr. Henrik N. Dullea, Vice President for University Relations of Cornell University wrote:

"President Lee is one of our most outstanding alumni. His Ph.D. dissertation was recognized as the best in his field by the American Agricultural Economics

Association. In addition, President Lee's skill in implementing the economic, political and social development agenda of his native island has reflected a lifetime of achievement that Cornell University was honored to recognize by inviting him to deliver the 1995 Spencer T. and Ann W. Olin Lecture on world politics and international affairs ."

In addition to President Lee and President Casper, there have been innumerable young Chinese college graduates traveling from Taiwan to pursue advanced studies in the major universities in the United States between 1950 and the present time. Many of them ended up as renowned scholars, scientists, political leaders and professionals in all fields either back home or in the United States. According to informal statistics, there are one hundred thousand outstanding naturalized American citizens who succeeded as international students, and were recruited to join promising institutions due to their educational accomplishments.

Two crucial factors can account for this unique phenomenon of educational internationalization. First, the quality of teaching and research in the American higher learning institutions is a major reason for foreign students to apply for admission. Second, the steady increase of American teaching and research universities reflected the modern success story of knowledge-creation through higher learning institutions.

The impact of the rise of American research universities on Chinese students is immeasurable. The increasing number of Chinese students from Taiwan enrolled in American universities between 1950 and 1998, as indicated in Fig. 6 is reflected in that most of the cabinet members in 's government have earned Ph.D. degrees from overseas.

Indeed, the value of international education and its exchanges in the global level is a fact widely recognized today, with an increasing number of students seeking at least part of their education in a country different from their native land (Goodman 1999). The endeavors of students from Taiwan studying overseas have justified this reality.

The total number of students pursuing advanced studies in the United States gradually declined. This is due to the fact that there are already 127 colleges and universities in Taiwan offering advanced degrees. These colleges and universities have attracted students to stay in Taiwan for graduate studies. Also, the gradual shift of studying in the US to studying in Europe and Asian countries such as Australia, Japan, and New Zealand, is another factor contributing to the decline of enrollment in the US colleges and universities. It is foreseeable that this phenomenon will continue.

In spite of the recent decline of Taiwan student population in the United States, it has been reflected that the change of pattern is not really negative. With the quality of higher education enhanced rapidly in Taiwan, and diversity of international programs persisting, the overall impact is desirable after all.

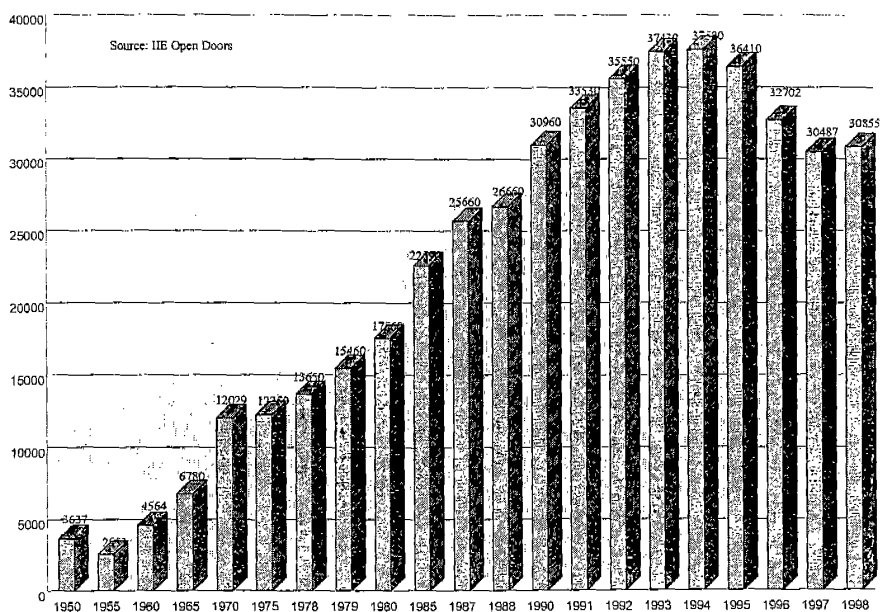


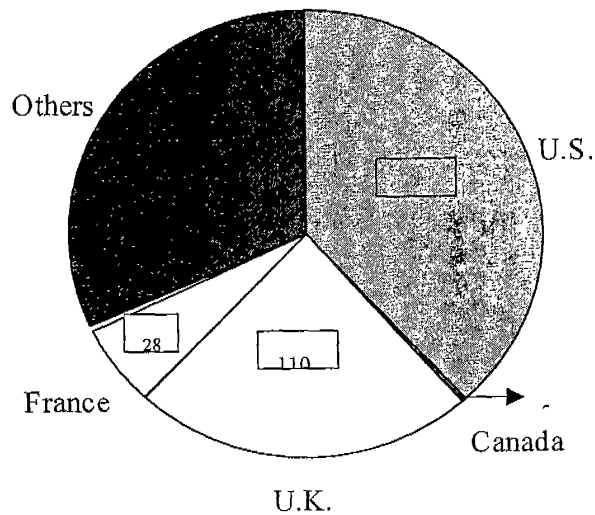
Fig. 3: ROC (Taiwan) Students in the USA (1950-1998)

Interestingly, in 1995-96, the number dropped to 866, proportionally reflecting the decrease of total students coming to the US. Instead, they chose to study in (Li 1997:25). This changing trend is due to several factors. The world is changing fast, and cutting edge science and technology are dominating the world. has been striving for continuous social and economic prosperity under the guideline as for international and regional competitiveness, both of which are related to the trend above. Increasingly, sharp programs and economic consideration have kept more students on the island for further study. In this context of continuous campaigns for higher education reform and internationalization in , the following programs have been put into practice.

## 6. Studying Overseas on Government Scholarships

The program enabling students with academic potential to pursue advanced studies overseas has been in existence since 1955. The government foresaw the future trend three decades ago. and was certain that advancement in higher education and education internationalization would be the driving force leading to the optimal development of a nation. This proposition has been justified recently by the mandate of APEC Summits which President Clinton proclaimed in three consecutive years, 1994~96. Ministry of Education has been active in screening qualified college graduates to study all over the world for advanced degrees as well as researching as postdoctorates. At present, there are 480 students enjoying this privilege globally. Out of these students, 185 are in the United States.





*Fig. 4: 1998 Government-Supported Students Studying Abroad*

Provision granted to each of the students includes monthly stipends, book allowance, medical insurance coverage, tuition fees, as well as subsidy for attending international academic conferences. In total, each of the scholarship students will be awarded approximately \$29,200 per year, plus round-trip airfare.

Each year, 150 scholarships are offered to qualified candidates. As soon as they are selected, each of them is responsible for applying to research universities all over the world out of their own choices. Upon the completion of their studies, usually aiming at the Ph.D. degrees, they are required to go back to Taiwan to contribute their knowledge and learning.

#### **7. International Educators invited to Visit ROC-Taiwan**

To comply with the policy of supporting potential students studying overseas, the Ministry of Education has been inviting international educators to visit Taiwan, aiming at promoting better understanding and relationships among the higher learning institutions. In 1997, one hundred and fifteen (115) university presidents, deans, distinguished scholars, and international student advisors were invited to visit the educational and cultural establishments in Taiwan. Despite a financial crunch, as seen in most countries, Taiwan will maintain the same policy under the coordination of Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relations. Figure 8 clearly demonstrates our enthusiasm for

promoting internationalization of higher education through such significant visits by international educators. Such a policy of invitation serves the best interests of all institutions of higher learning in Taiwan and their counterparts overseas.

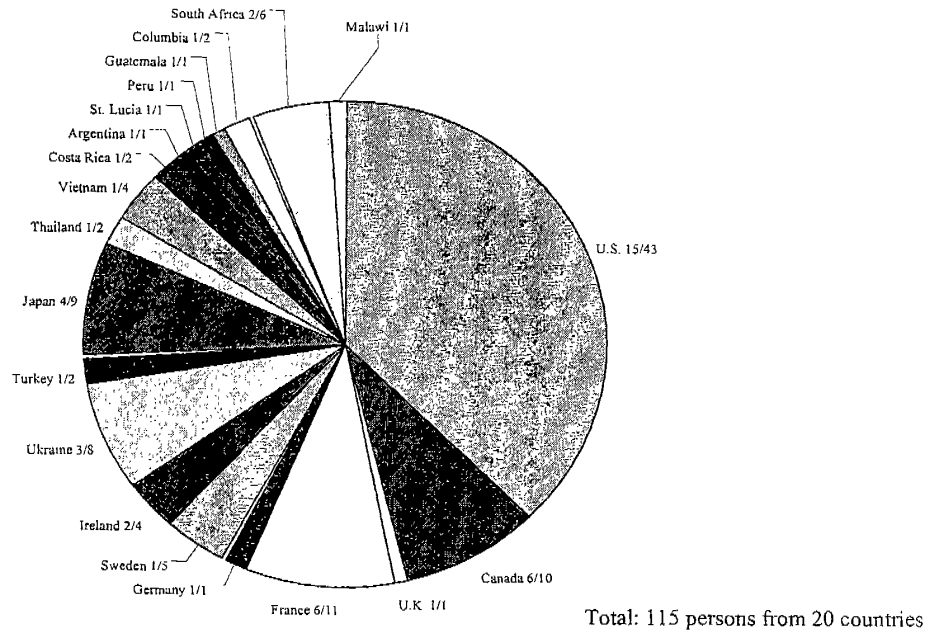


Fig. 5: International visitors invited by the Ministry of Education 1997-19 (By country group/person)

## 8. High School Graduates Studying Overseas

The third policy is to open the door for high school graduates to study overseas in undergraduate programs. Prior to 1990, it was the strict policy for the government only to allow college graduates to pursue advanced degrees. As the world is changing so fast, gradually becoming a global village, the Ministry of Education finally unveiled the policy for earlier cultural and academic learning. Besides, high school and college students are now permitted to register in summer programs in accredited foreign colleges, aiming at motivating their pursuance of advanced learning in the future.

All the 21 Cultural Divisions from North America, Europe, and Southeast Asia, etc., are responsible for helping pinpoint recommendable institutions for application. The Foundation for Scholarly Exchange (Fulbright Foundation) in Taipei also lends a hand in this policy. Starting from 2001, the Ministry of Education will endeavor to support high school students to study in the English speaking countries under the "Pre-College

Intensive English Programs.” The programs are being studied and planned.

### **9. Academic Exchange and Overseas CSL Programs**

To reciprocate the US support in teaching and training Chinese students from , the government has adopted two major policies for appreciation. The first project is to provide faculty specialized in teaching Chinese as a second language to interested US colleges for beefing up or initiating a Chinese program. To fulfill this purpose, the Ministry of Education (MOE) of the Republic of China on Taiwan provides round-trip airfare to and from the United States for the selected teachers. The cosponsoring university that employs the designated teacher as a visiting lecturer pays the teacher's salary according to the university's salary scale, of which the MOE will subsidize eight hundred U.S. dollars per month.

The contract period is designated for one year, but is renewable once for another year after negotiation between the university and the MOE. The MOE subsidizes the teacher with additional budget for shipping teaching materials of the Chinese language and culture. All these in-service teachers were trained for broadening their knowledge in general linguistics, material development, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, testing and evaluation, etc. Between 1985 and 1996, eighty-nine experienced CSL teachers were hired by colleges and universities in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Germany, Mexico, Latvia, and others. Duke University, University of Toronto, and McGill University are in the process of arranging for having these teachers to come to enhance their CSL programs.

Aside from the aforementioned CSL programs all over the world, the ROC Ministry of Education has also provided scholarships for international students to study in , genuine international education operated on a reciprocal basis. A more ambitious program offering grants to international scholars specializing in Chinese studies will be put into practice this year. This will enable scholars in Taiwan and overseas to initiate a substantial teaching and research internationally.

*IIE Open Door 1997-98* reported that:

After a four-year period of flat growth, the total number of foreign students attending U.S. colleges and universities increased 5.1% this year (1998) to a total of 481,280. Number of students studying abroad climbed 11.4% from the prior year, reaching almost 100,000. (IIE 1998)

The current development of education internationalization all over the world has responded to the student enrollment in the 2,571 accredited U.S. institutions of higher learning. Moreover, the education reform initiatives that U.S. Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley unveiled in 1992 has shed new light on the identical endeavor in Taiwan. Such efforts have proven more significant impact on the social advancement of the new era. Thus, it is justifiable, and very worthy, to report to enhance the ongoing educational reform project in Taiwan to all our friends in Southeast Asia.

## **10. WWW for Enhancing Education Internationalization**

The Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relations of the Ministry of Education has recently succeeded in creating an extensive worldwide web for disseminating information on international education. The information has fully met the demand of those who are planning to pursue advanced studies overseas. Also, it has provided all the detailed regulations governing overseas studies, as well as possible assistance and financial support available from the government agencies home and abroad. Many of the frequently asked questions have been posted for reference. In addition, students can retrieve information about application into colleges all over the world by browsing the linked data. All references listed in the Appendix will explain in what effective ways our students and international scholars are taking advantage of this bilingual website.

## **11. Toward a Rejuvenated National Goal: Conclusion**

Reinforced education reform policy and lifelong learning mandate adopted by our current Minister of Education Dr. Ching-Jiang Lin have guided us to a renewed vision for the future. We all appreciate the functions and value of international education, which is the shortcut to enable all of us to cross the linguistic and cultural boundary for betterment in any society. The Republic of China on Taiwan is a typical example of the success story of educational internationalization without which it would not be what it is today. will remain on the track of education reform from compulsory national education, teacher training, vocational education, higher education, lifelong learning, and plus education internationalization heading for a rejuvenated national goal at the turn of the century.

Success in education reform for the new millennium will not come easy. It takes the joint efforts of governmental policymaking based on crystallized clear vision, sufficient budgetary support, dedicated educators and reliable staff who possess global views of education. All these variables, together with the cultural heritage have enabled Taiwan to initiate the promising unprecedented education reform in a large scale. It is believed that success derived from such an endeavor can be shared with other member economies after all.

## **12. New Paths for Advancement to Colleges**

Calls for sweeping reform of the educational system have been vocalized for more than a decade. In particular, the Joint University Entrance Examinations system is confronted with frequent criticism (Li 1992:1). Proposals presented for reform by the Commission of Educational Reform include new paths for advancement so that 8,375 qualified high school seniors can be screened to be admitted into some major universities without having to participate in the very competitive joint university entrance examinations in 1997. Such paths of advancement coexist with the nationwide joint university entrance examinations, but present students more choices of access to the institutions of higher learning. All universities are entitled to the right to choose the candidates in accordance with their academic specialty. In the meantime, the Center for University Entrance Examinations has been inaugurated to oversee the operation of this

new practice.

### **12.1 University Autonomy**

Under the newly implemented educational reform policy, all public universities have been granted the right of self-governing. Specifically, the president will no longer be appointed by the Ministry of Education, but is selected either by the search committee, or by votes through all faculty members in each of the universities. Deans, chairpersons, and new faculty member to be employed are also decided by the faculty. As a result, the higher education system becomes decentralized in reality, although all institutions still receive budgets from the Ministry of Education as they used to. Original core courses are no longer mandatory, depending on the decision of the curriculum committee of the Faculty Senate of the university. Such measure of drastic change in the process of current higher education reform seems to endow all the colleges and universities with more academic freedom on the surface. On the other hand, it has created considerable amounts of problems due to some faculty members' abuse of academic freedom by misinterpreting the essence of higher education reform. The selection by popular vote of university presidents is a typical example. The comments of President Richard Levin of Yale University hits just the point. He challenged by arguing, "I believe that college and university presidents need to be able to exercise some freedom and judgment that is not subject to an election by popular vote." (Personal communication 1996)

The rampant selection of presidents nowadays under the pretext of university autonomy has generated some serious consequences. In the entire course of higher education reform, it takes a lot of wisdom to erect this abnormal phenomenon to meet the best interest of our higher education in the long run.

### **12.2 Encouraging the Provision of Learning Opportunities by the Business Community**

Business represents a key resource for the state. It not only offers the opportunities for employment, but also enhances the growth of the learning society. Due to that fact, business will have a great part to play in education, and become an important vehicle in which lifelong learning opportunities can be offered. Workers will be encouraged to attend various learning programs if the provision by business can be encouraged effectively. An economy and its business community need to develop a partnership for learning that will make learning opportunities widely available. In addition, there is a new trend for business executives to go back to schools for further learning. Programs such as EMBA (Executive MBA) and similar types have become popular due to the need of business CEO's. This encouraging social phenomenon has also justified the fact that a sweeping education reform is in progress throughout the country for all.

### **12.3 Integrating the Lifelong Learning Information Network**

In order to encourage people to take on lifelong learning, not only do we have to design many curricula and learning activities, we also have to accurately and rapidly

transfer information about learning opportunities to people. Only then can those who are willing to be involved understand the options, then take the opportunity to learn. The information about lifelong learning must be integrated and be distributed in a comprehensive, yet simple way. Then people can access it as easy as leafing through a book and will not miss any needed information.

#### **12.4 Encouraging the Learning of Foreign Languages**

With the development of technology and the prosperity of society, obviously our society is gradually being internationalized. To adapt to this trend, we must have the knowledge of internationalization and the concept of global village. People should make efforts to develop their language ability to improve communication and the life within the global village. Along with language ability, the cultural perspective will be expanded and then we will not just confine ourselves to the limits of a single culture, just like a frog in a well. This is another reason why the government has decided for English to be officially instructed in the elementary schools beginning 2001.

#### **12.5 Building a System for Accreditation of Learning Achievement**

The System for Accreditation of Learning Achievement (SALA) is an important educational design to enhance a learning climate for all people in our society. This system serves to encourage all people participating in learning activities and is helpful to achieve the objective of the establishment of a lifelong learning society. At the same time, the establishment of the SALA can also change people's concept of education. Different learning encounters have equal opportunity for accreditation. Thus, learning activities outside formal schooling will be prosperously developed. The establishment of a thriving system of lifelong learning thus becomes possible.

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## 華府國建聯誼會學術研討會議程

### 主題：邁進新世紀，提昇國家生命力

時間：2000年10月21日(星期六) 地點：Bethesda Hyatt Regency

- 8:00 - 8:30 註冊報到  
8:30 - 8:40 大會開幕  
徐會長惠迪致歡迎詞  
8:40 - 9:20 專題演講：中美外交關係的展望  
駐美代表處程代表建人 (主持：徐惠迪)  
9:20 - 9:50 問答與討論  
9:50 - 10:20 休息
- 10:20 - 11:00 專題演講：台灣海峽兩岸的互動  
行政院大陸委員會鄧副主委振中 (主持：黃國雄)  
11:00 - 11:30 問答與討論
- 11:50 - 1:30 午餐及演講：台灣教育改革的進展  
教育部李處長振清 (主持：李五郎)  
1:30 - 1:40 休息
- 1:40 - 2:50 專題座談：台灣高科技發展的前瞻  
講員：李繼偉，蘇慧陽，林松齡 (主持：莊德茂)  
2:50 - 3:10 問答與討論  
3:10 - 3:30 休息
- 3:30 - 4:40 專題座談：華裔青年融入主流社會的挑戰  
講員：陳士魁，洪耀東，楊心怡 (主持：吳澄敏)  
4:40 - 5:00 問答與討論
- 6:30 - 9:00 駐美代表處代表邀宴  
(遠東飯店 5055 Nicholson Lane ,301 881 5552 ,憑邀請函入座)

# 海峽兩岸互動

鄧振中

## 壹、前言——兩岸問題日益受到國際重視

兩岸問題對於我們的國家安全、經濟發展、對外關係、乃至於國內政治都具有決定性的影響。面對新的世紀，如何在既有的基礎上，開創兩岸關係的新局，不僅關係國家的永續發展，也是東亞區域和平安全之所繫。

眾所皆知，台海情勢直接影響亞太地區的和平與安定，海峽兩岸的問題日益受到國際的重視。因此，加強在國際間的溝通與互動，爭取國際間對我們維護民主自由體制決心的認同與支持，不僅是政府部門的職責，學術界及海外國人亦可以本其專業提供具體貢獻及智慧。各位身處海外，以國際宏觀的視野看兩岸關係，常能顯現在此領域的比較優勢，不僅可以為兩岸關係未來的發展方向提出具操作性的建言，也可以贏得國際人士的尊重與重視。

## 貳、現階段兩岸政策的主軸

兩岸關係自新政府成立以來，一直是各界關注的焦點之一，新聞處理也常常躍居頭版。甚至，還有人直言我們向各界大陸政策說明不足，但是我們傾向避免就大陸政策過度發言，因為各界對兩岸關係往往因過度關切，產生不必要的焦慮，或過度的樂觀。其實，新政府在這幾個月來施政主要的努力就是在穩定兩岸關係。我們希望在穩定中逐步推動交流與對話，並逐步建立完整的交流、互動秩序，以增進兩岸互信與了解，為未來兩岸關係的正常化鋪路。

在穩定與正常化之後，兩岸將面臨合作與競爭的關係。一方面，兩岸透過互補性的經濟結構及文化、語言同源，將各自汲取對方之長而自我發展；另一方面，兩岸在經濟、社會、政治上也將發生競爭關係，我們期待這種競爭是一個良性的競爭，而能擴大兩岸人民的選擇，達到最大的福利。

## 參、兩岸交流現況

兩岸關係的發展自開放探親以來，十三年來，雙方各層級人員透過經貿、文化、社會等各層面的往來，確實建立了雙方互動的模式，對原本隔絕的兩個社會體系的相互流通，產生一定程度的助益。因此，歷年來交流所帶來的正面意義不容否定。

兩岸交流隨著不同階段的需求以及政策的調整，已產生若干結構性的變化。經過政府多年來的開放與各界的努力推動，兩岸交流涉及的範圍已十分廣泛，幾乎遍及所有類別。在文教方面，經由交流領域的擴大，交流層級的提高，使得兩岸間資訊、文化方面互通的形式與管道有所擴增，但是在通思維的領域中，卻未見有明顯的改善。大陸地區人民來臺從事文教活動者逐年增加，迄今已超過五萬七千人次，其中八十七及八十八年皆在上萬人次。此外，兩岸相關出版品、廣播電視、錄影節目及電影等的流通也相當普遍。近年來兩岸文教交流項目增多、層級提高，交流結構也有變化，從過去精英取向的民俗技藝、體育和學者交流活動，逐步進展到以基層民眾為主體的宗教、科技和青少年交流活動。

在經濟方面，從民國七十六年至八十八年，兩岸間貿易成長約十七倍，八十八年兩岸貿易總額二百五十九億美元，大陸地區已成為我第三大出口對象。我廠商赴大陸地區的投資金額，截至八十九年六月，經濟部統計共有一五六億美元；若依大陸方面的統計，則臺商在大陸協議投資金額累計四五七·六億美元，實際金額二四八·九億美元，僅次於香港、美國。臺商在大陸投資，據保守估計已創造三百萬個工作機會以上；同時臺商向台灣採購相關設備與原料，估計帶動我對大陸出口的三至四成，因此經濟交流對兩岸都有益處。不過隨著大陸進口替代和產業升級政策，兩岸若干產業有逐漸由互補走向競爭的趨勢。

在社會交流方面，八十八年臺灣地區人民赴大陸地區計有一百八十五萬餘人次，比八十七年增加一二%；而大陸地區人民進入臺灣地區則逾十萬人次，成長一七·六%。總計自開放交流迄今，臺灣地區人民共有一千五百七十萬餘人次進入大陸地區，而大陸地區人民進入臺灣者累計亦已逾四十七萬人次。兩岸信件往來累積共一億七千八百萬封，不過自民國八十三年信件往來數達最高峰（一千九百萬封）後，不論是寄往大陸或寄來臺灣之信件，近年來皆有減少之趨勢；代之而起則是兩岸電話往來呈現逐年成長之勢，累積已近七億七千三百萬通。

## 肆、兩岸互動的障礙

儘管兩岸民間交流熱絡，但是中共卻在國際間處處打壓我們，造成兩岸互動時而緊張、時而趨緩的不穩定關係，究其原因，可歸納如下：

### 一、「一個中國」的問題：

「一個中國」的問題是長期以來兩岸關係發展的關鍵問題，我們無意迴避。但是，中共長久以來一直以狹隘的心態，片面解釋其所謂的「一個中國原則」，這是我們所不能接受的事。

中共對「一個中國原則」的定義，從「世界上只有一個中國，台灣是中國的一部分，中華人民共和國是代表中國的唯一合法政府」，到最近其副總理錢其琛所謂「世界上只有一個中國，大陸和台灣同屬一個中國，中國的主權與領土不容分裂」的新三段論說法，乍看似乎顯示中共有了善意的作為，但事實上，錢其琛口中的「一個中國」，在國際上仍是指「中華人民共和國」，日前他即公開指出：「世界上和中國建交的一百六十多個國家，明確的支持一個中國，如果說台灣要搞獨立，或者說要搞另外一個中國，國際上行不通就等於白說。」這種漠視中華民國的存在，也是中共慣用的「內外有別」的手段，實在無法令台灣人民信服。

反觀陳水扁總統在五二〇就職演說中提出：海峽兩岸人民源自於相同的血緣、文化和歷史背景，我們相信雙方的領導人一定有足夠的智慧與創意，秉持民主對等的原則，在既有的基礎之上，以善意營造合作的條件，共同處理未來「一個中國」的問題。這表達了我們以正面、積極的態度與做法，改善兩岸關係的誠意。

兩岸相對的定位，應該經由雙方和平對話來溝通解決。雙方對此一問題的分歧，一時之間尚不容易消除。因此，政府認為當前最重要的課題是如何維持兩岸關係的和平與穩定，唯有在這個前提下，「一個中國」的問題才有逐步尋求解決的空間。

### 二、「九二年共識」的爭議：

一九九二年海峽兩岸曾針對如何解決「一個中國」問題進行具體討論，但無法獲致任何結論，因此我方建議以「口頭各自表述」的方式，暫時擱置此一爭議，中共也表示「尊重並接受我方的建議」，而「一個中國，各自表述」一直是我方描述此一過程的用語。這個對話的精神應該是國際上常說的 agree to disagree，也就是同意雙方對

於分歧的問題各自表述，而絕非中共片面所說已經對「雙方均堅持一個中國原則」達成共識。

中共過去向來否認兩岸有共識之存在，而今忽然又指有所謂的共識存在，不僅反覆無常，而且把這個共識解釋為是對「一個中國原則」的共識，企圖透過新的解釋，來製造施壓的籌碼，其做法就像在國際上企圖主控「一個中國」的詮釋一樣。

九二年兩岸若有共識，應該是雙方均已清楚了解到：交流、對話與擱置爭議是處理雙方政治分歧的唯一途徑，這才是「九二共識」的核心精神所在。因此，我們認為雙方對此一問題既有爭議，最好的解決方法就是坐下來談，透過對話進一步釐清。

### 三、兩岸對話看法與期待不同：

由於兩岸思維模式的不同，造成雙方對於對話也有著不同的看法與期待。我們一貫認為，兩岸對話不必刻意排斥任何議題，並積極準備兩岸協商，以奠定兩岸間互信的基礎；中共方面則自始將對話視為推動兩岸政治談判的手段，企圖主導兩岸互動的進程。現階段更表達兩岸間正式的接觸與對話必須在「堅持一個中國原則」的前提才有可能，全然無視我方推展兩岸關係的苦心，因此目前兩岸能否恢復對話的關鍵，在於大陸而非台灣方面，只有我方單方面的善意表達，是無法達成為兩岸對話創造條件的目的。

### 伍、未來努力方向

#### 一、以開放的思考來突破兩岸僵局。

過去，兩岸關係受限於雙方主政者的意識形態與既定的思考模式，以致於在互動的過程中經常被預設的前提及框架所困。因此，突破僵局的唯一途徑，就是要以開放性的思考與態度來處理兩岸問題。我們不排除兩岸關係未來走向的任何可能、不排斥雙方任何互動與交往的模式、不預設任何的對話前提與條件、不自限於任何的意識形態。開放性思考的積極意義是展現我們在兩岸問題上最大的彈性，為未來雙方的互動保留最寬廣的空間。我們希望，開放性的思考與態度，能為兩岸問題的解決開發出更多建設性的創意。

#### 二、擴展全面性交流，建立兩岸交流秩序

兩岸交流不僅對穩定兩岸關係有正面助益，也是實現兩岸互利互

惠的關鍵與基礎。在兩岸交流領域中，政府同時扮演著兩個角色，一方面有責任為民間開創有利的環境，使民間的資源與活力得以作最大功能的發揮。另一方面，必須維護國家的基本安全，排除可能的風險。因此，我們提出「國家安全網」的概念，希望以積極交往為出發點，推動以台灣為主體的兩岸交流架構，強化自己的基礎與信心，降低開放兩岸交流的風險與顧慮。隨著主、客觀環境的改變，未來兩岸交流的層面只會擴增，交流的數量只會提高，因此，政府將從未來的整體發展、兩岸關係、國家安全等角度來評估，希望建立合理化的交流秩序，尋求兩岸交往的最大可能性，並減少交往中所產生的負面功能。

### 三、積極檢討兩岸經貿政策，擴大互動空間

兩岸經貿往來已經累積了相當的成果。一旦兩岸加入世界貿易組織(WTO)之後，雙方經貿往來將更為密切，因此各自建構適當的機制、調整本身的體質，以因應加入WTO所帶來的衝擊，益顯迫切。政府目前已著手「三通」政策的檢討，將採取循序漸進的做法，以金門、馬祖與對岸的「小三通」為政策評估的優先項目。在過去三個月中，政府相關部門密集研商，從國家安全、經濟影響、社會衝擊及大陸政策等不同層面對「小三通」進行評估，希望能在離島發展建設與國家安全間找到平衡點。我們希望在年底前，規劃完成具體做法及配套措施，以達到落實離島建設及改善兩岸關係的雙重目標。在大三通方面我們也著手檢討通航的國家安全問題，並進行必要的規劃，我們也願意適時就相關問題與大陸方面展開協商。對於部分企業所關注的「戒急用忍」政策的檢討，由於其基本精神事實上是「行穩致遠」，目的是促使企業「根留台灣」，希望企業在穩固的基礎上，再進行大陸投資。這些做法對穩固台灣經濟，避免產業過度外移，以及提供台灣高科技發展所需的資金供給上確實發揮很大的貢獻。不過我們注意到「戒急用忍」一辭可能衍生錯誤的解讀，以及廠商面臨的全球競爭壓力；因此，政府未來將從台灣經濟發展、兩岸關係及國家安全來重新評估，希望使有關規範更合理化。

### 四、開啟全方位對話，建構多元溝通機制

兩岸制度化的協商是既有的對話模式與正式的管道，我們也展現了比以往更為開放的態度，對任何議題，包括相互分歧的政治問題及爭議，我們都準備與大陸方面展開協商與談判。我們希望大陸當局能以更務實的態度促使這個管道發揮應有的功能。目前當務之急是恢復辜汪會晤，我方迎接汪道涵先生訪台的準備工作未曾停止，辜先生也表示必要時願再親赴大陸致邀以促成此事。除此以外，如果能產生輔

助與補強的功能，在確立風險管理機制的情況之下，政府也不會排除第二軌道或第三軌道的溝通與接觸。總之，我們重視制度化協商的管道、樂見多元化溝通的機制、開放任何對話與談判的議題，以便能奠定兩岸間互信的基礎，為日後官方與官方的直接對話創造條件。

## 五、凝聚國人共識，擴大全民參與決策

凝聚國人對兩岸問題的共識，是當前政府施政的重點之一。國人對兩岸關係重大議題長期存在分歧意見，往往影響政府政策的推動。陳總統在五二〇演說中提出了「政府施政必須以多數民意為依歸」的原則，我們將據此進行具體的規劃，以尋求有效的方式，透過適當的機制，展開理性的討論，並凝聚出穩固的共識，以便政策能充分反應主流民意，並使政府在民意的支持與導引之下，集中力量處理兩岸互利共榮的相關問題。

## 陸、結語

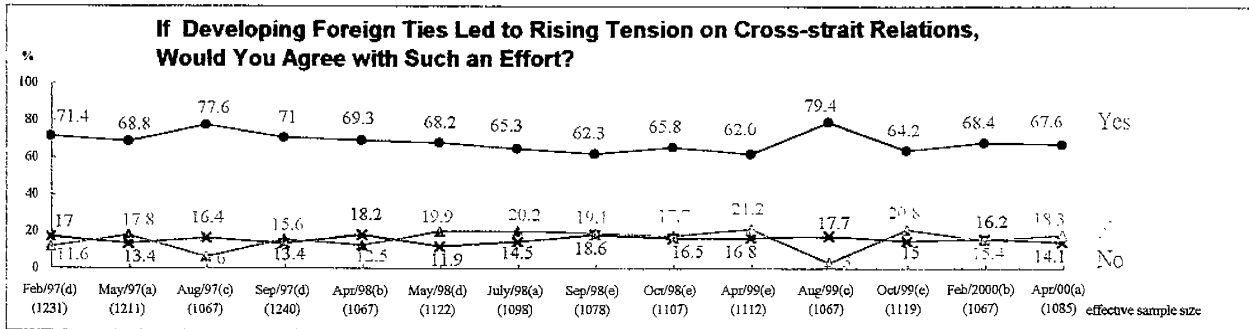
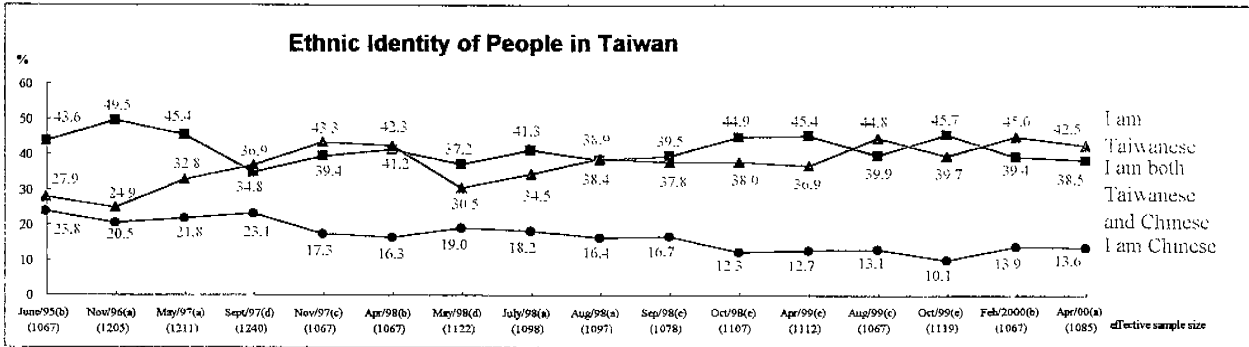
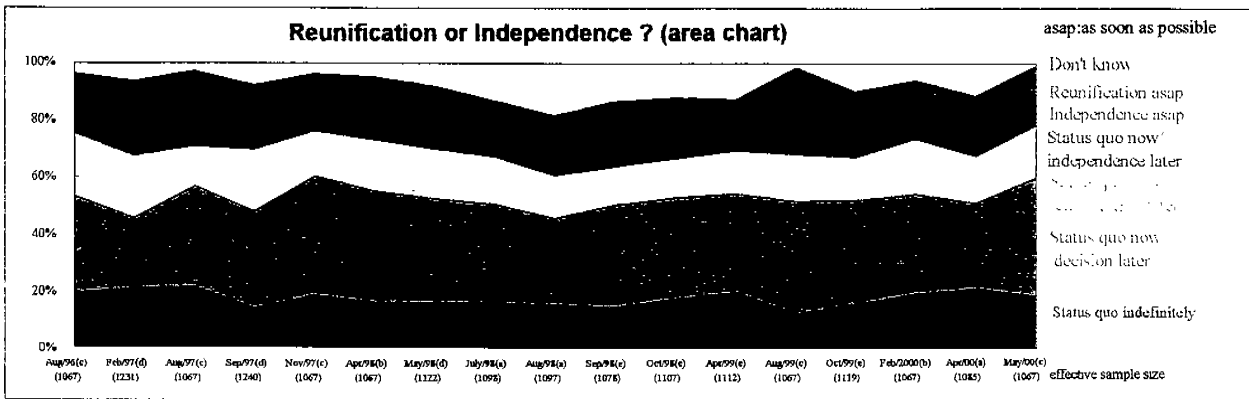
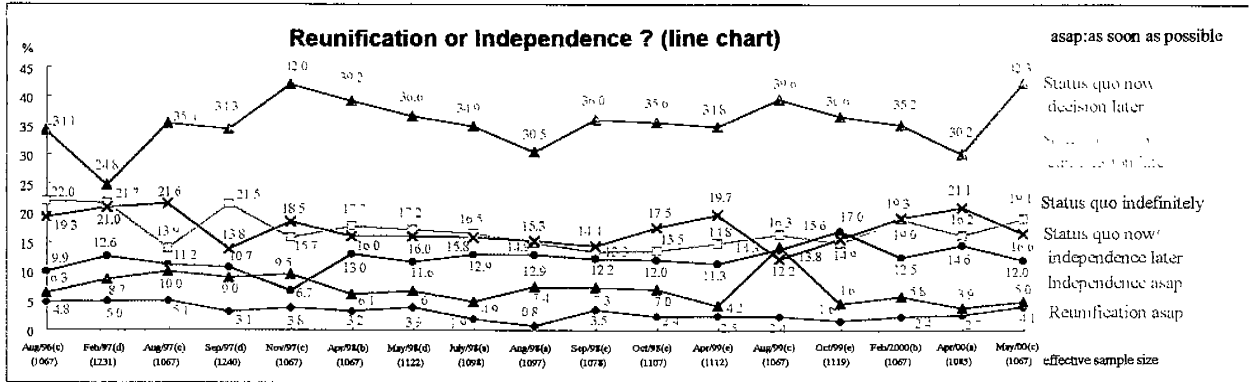
從五二〇開始，中華民國的民主政治發展進入了一個新的階段。中華民國政府展現了新的氣象、新的活力，也擬定新的施政目標。在這樣一個關鍵的時刻，我們尤其需要透過全新的思維，來處理攸關國家發展的兩岸問題，誠如 陳總統在五二〇就職演說中所提及「如今冷戰已經結束，該是兩岸拋棄舊時代所遺留下來敵意與對立的時候。」當然，要形成兩岸互動的新思維，並不是靠閉門拒談所能塑造出來，而是應該由兩岸儘早坐下來共同探討與研究，秉持「善意和解、積極合作、永久和平」的原則，開創具有建設性的兩岸關係。我們尤其希望，大陸在日益擴大與外界接觸之後，能以新思維面對新世局，這樣才能有助於建立兩岸新的互動模式，為兩岸關係的開展找到一條具體可行之路。

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Tel:886-2-23975589

Fax:886-2-23975286

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- Survey conducted by :
- (a) Election Study Center, National Chengchi University, Taipei (886-2-29387134)
  - (b) Burke Marketing Research, Ltd., Taipei (886-2-25181088)
  - (c) China Credit Information Service, Ltd., Taipei (886-2-87873266)
  - (d) Center for Public Opinion and Election Studies, National Sun Yat-Sen University, Kaohsiung (886-7-5252000)
  - (e) Survey and Opinion Research Group, Dept. of Political Science, National Chung-cheng University, Chiayi (886-5-2720411)

Respondents : Taiwanese adults aged 20-69 accessible to telephone interviewers



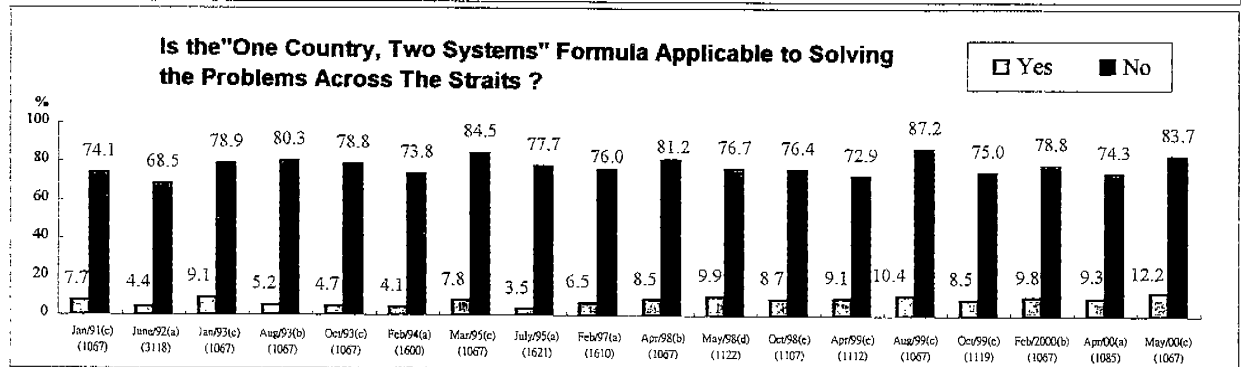
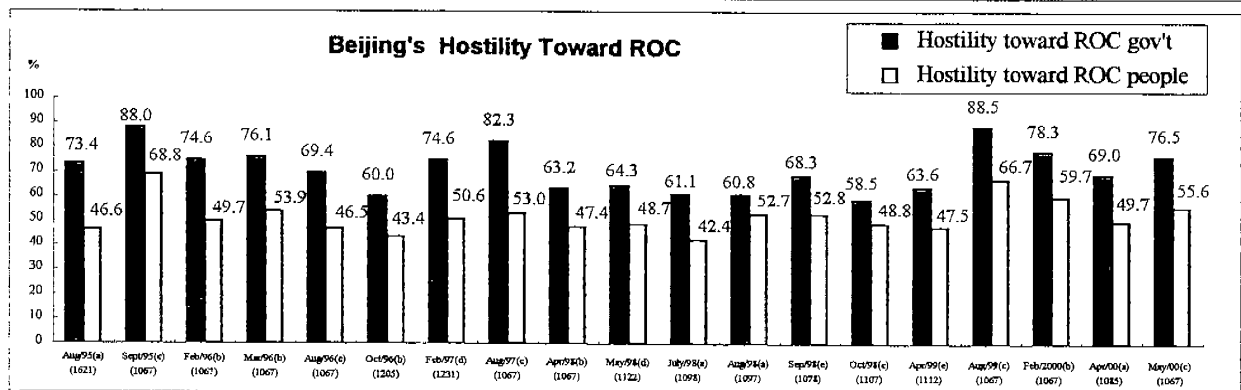
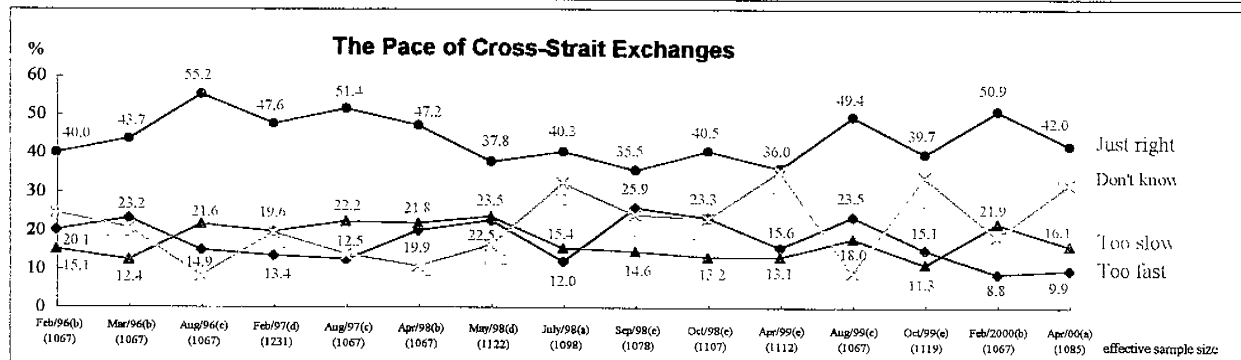
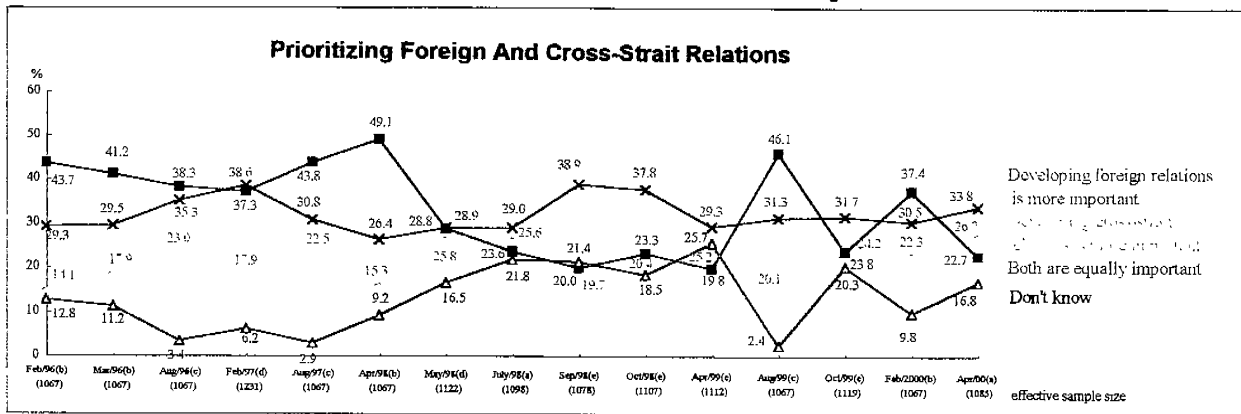
# Public Opinion on Cross-Strait Relations in the Republic of China – (2)

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